1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife. Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορτδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

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Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
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127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.
and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the
858 huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114]
2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large,
[178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[219] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and
586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.
587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem-
221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

[113] 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XX^e siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

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233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.